

The Poetic Element in the Satires and Epistles of Horace

PART I

BY

PHILIP HOWARD EDWARDS

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS
UNIVERSITY IN CONFORMITY WITH THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

1905

J. M. Furst Company

BALTIMORE

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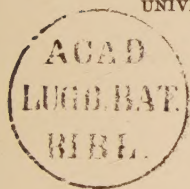
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THE POETIC ELEMENT IN THE SATIRES AND EPISTLES OF HORACE.

INTRODUCTION.

The poetic element in the satires and epistles of Horace seems never to have been made the subject of thorough investigation. Owing to several passages in the satires and epistles themselves, the greatest unanimity has always existed upon one point in their interpretation; viz., their essentially prosaic character. It would appear that from the very beginning this conception has held almost unquestioned sway over the minds of critics and authorities. It is not altogether unnatural that this should be the case, nor is the position in itself a false one. On the contrary, in the many perplexing questions which face us in the classical field, it is refreshing to have the author's repeated reference to the subject under discussion. In the present instance, however, I am convinced that the author's self-directed and apparently frank criticism has had the effect of obscuring certain other elements of his style, equally operative, though of less extensive application. It is difficult to understand why this is the case. One would suppose that the very fact that a norm of style has been established by the author's own words would direct especial attention to the abnormal, and prompt an investigation along that line.

To be sure the editions occasionally note an elevated or poetic passage, for the most part in instances where it would be scarcely possible to ignore the change of tone. But scant reference has crept into the introductions, where few have had the courage in the face of such clean-cut expressions as *musa pedestris*, and *per humum repens*, to give the matter the benefit of distinct treatment. Lucian Mueller, *Introduction*, p. xiii, is an exception sufficiently notable to be quoted: Zwar übertreibt Horaz, wenn er (*Sat.* 1,

56 fgdd.) behauptet, dass ohne das Metrum seine wie des Lucilius Dichtungen wie Prosa erscheinen würden. Es finden sich bei ihm selbst und noch öfter, soweit man nach den Fragmenten urtheilen kann, bei seinem Vorbilde Verse höheren Schwunges, wie ja auch die Erscheinungen des Lebens sich nicht ausschliesslich innerhalb hausbackener Prosa und nüchterner Alltäglichkeit bewegen. These are the most relevant words I have been able to find in the editions.

Next in importance seems the observation of Nitsch, *Introduction to the Satires*, vol. 2, p. 332. Die Sprache, welche Horaz in diesen Gedichten redet, nähert sich allerdings der Prosa, wenn wir es ihm schon darum nicht auf sein Wort glauben dürfen, dass er um dieser Gedichte willen, allen Anspruch auf den Rang eines Dichters entsagt.

Kiessling, *Introduction to the Satires*, p. xvii, in discussing *Sat.* 1, 4, 39 ff., the most significant passage in the sermones, expresses the prevalent view, merging quite indiscriminately the departments of satire and comedy as the twin objects of the author's criticism. His conclusions may be taken as representative of contemporary opinion; viz., that there is little or nothing of the poetic in the satires of Horace.

The above must serve as the most detailed remarks to be found in the authorities upon a side of Horatian style certainly deserving more careful investigation.

First, then, let us examine the passages referred to above. The most important is *Sat.* 1, 4, 38 ff.:

agedum, pauca accipe contra.	
primum ego me illorum, dederim quibus esse poetis,	
excerpam numero: neque enim concludere versum	40
dixeris esse satis; neque siqui scribat uti nos	
sermoni propiora, putes hunc esse poetam.	
ingenium cui sit, cui mens divinior atque os	
magna sonaturum, des nominis huius honorem.	
idcirco quidam comoedia necne poema	45
esset quaesivere, quod acer spiritus ac vis	
nec verbis nec rebus inest, nisi quod pede certo	
differt sermoni, sermo merus.	

Compare vs. 41, where Horace refers to his own composition, with vss. 45 ff., which concern comedy. The former is a guarded statement, the latter is a free and unrestrained expression of opinion, where the directness of the language is as evident as the conviction of the author. I do not wish to press this point too far, but in *siqui scribat uti nos sermoni propiora* there is to my mind a strong suggestion of modest understatement. The words *nisi quod pede certo differt sermoni, sermo merus* are occasionally cited by the editors as if they had direct reference to the satires; e. g., Wickham, on *Sat.* 2, 6, 17. I believe such inference is entirely unwarranted.

But Horace has something more to say. After citing an example from comedy he continues, vs. 56 ff. :

his, ego quae nunc,
olim quae scripsit Lucilius, eripias si
tempora certa modosque et quod prius ordine verbumst
posterius facias, praeponens ultima primis,
non, ut si solvas ‘postquam Discordia taetra
Belli ferratos postis portasque refregit,’
invenias etiam disiecti membra poetae.

In these lines we have that to which the whole passage has been tending; viz., a return to the criticism of Lucilius which he had begun in the opening of the satire. There is reason for believing that Horace has here employed the well-known device of including himself in a criticism whose arraignment is principally intended for another. It is well known how far-reaching was the influence of Lucilius, not only in his own time, but through the first century A. D. It is probable, therefore, that as early as this fourth satire Horace foresaw that his severe handling of Lucilius would not go unchallenged, though he was perhaps not prepared for the storm of protest which required his lengthy defense in the tenth satire.

In this connection it is interesting to mark the striking difference of tone in the first satire of the second book, where the early discussion is throughout ignored, and where every reference to Lucilius is laudatory; cf. vss. 16 f., vss. 28 f., and a longer

one, vss. 62-75. We cannot but feel that in this later reference to Lucilius we observe the truer and more general attitude of Horace toward the man who was in so many senses his model. But we must not forget that while Lucilius was the closest model he was also the closest rival in the department of satire, and that Horace, though disinclined to contest the honors of a great pioneer in a comparatively new branch of literature,¹ justly contends for the limitations which that unfamiliarity entailed.

However that may be, there is a probable concession to the popularity of Lucilius in whatever criticism appears in Horace. In the fourth satire that concession consists in including himself in the same category as Lucilius, and this fact is not without its bearing upon vss. 41 ff., and 56 ff.

Let us now consider another passage, *Sat.* 2, 6, 17 :

ergo ubi me in montis et in arcem ex urbe removi,
quid prius inlustrem saturis musaque pedestri ?

These lines are in setting and expression playful. Here the proportion of modest understatement must carefully be weighed, as also in *Epp.* 2, 1, 250 ff. :

nec sermones ego mallem
repentis per humum quam res componere gestas,
terrarumque situs et flumina dicere et arcis
montibus inpositas et barbara regna tuisque
auspiciis totum confecta duella per orbem
claustraque custodem pacis cohibentia Ianum
et formidatum Parthis te principe Romam,
si quantum cuperem possem quoque ; sed neque parvum
carmen maiestas recipit tua nec meus audet
rem temptare pudor quam vires ferre recusent.
sedulitas autem stulte quem diligit urguet,
praecipue cum se numeris commendat et arte.

The apologetic tone is frequent in Horace and is found in

¹ *Sat.* 1, 10, 48 f.,

neque ego illi detrachere ausim
haerentem capiti cum multa laude coronam.

every department of his work. The subjects he here disclaims as beyond the flight of his muse correspond remarkably with those treated in certain of his odes written in honor of royalty, especially those of the fourth book; see *Odes* 4, 5, 14 and 15. Compare especially *Sat.* 2, 1, 10 ff., where Trebatius advises Horace to do the very thing he here disclaims; that is, to write epic. Horace refuses on the same ground, his inability, adding two or three lines of genuine epic to prove his assertion; cf. vss. 13 ff. In the same vein cf. *Od.* 1, 6, 5 ff., *Od.* 4, 2, 27 ff., and *Od.* 4, 15, 1 ff., where again we find the accompanying epic touches. Cf. also *Od.* 1, 19, 10; *Od.* 2, 12, 1 ff.

In this connection *A. P.* 304 ff. is an interesting passage, and something of a stumbling-block judging from the variety of interpretations:

ergo fungar vice cotis, acutum
reddere quae ferrum valet, exsors ipsa secandi:
munus et officium, nil scribens ipse, docebo,
unde parentur opes, quid alat formetque poetam,
quid deceat, quid non, quo virtus, quo ferat error.

Müller quite arbitrarily understands *nil scribens* of tragedy, on the ground that the honored lyrist could not exclude himself from the general category of poets. Orelli extends the scope of the words and interprets *nullum poema epicum aut dramaticum, sed sermones dumtaxat et lyrica quaedam*, adding *inest tamen festiva ironia, qua propria carmina elevat*. This tone of *festiva ironia* is self-evident, notwithstanding the fact that this passage marks the transition to the most serious discussion of the poem, and that the remainder of the passage itself outlines that discussion. I can see, however, no compelling reason for supposing that the words *nil scribens* are to be understood solely of tragic or epic style. In consideration of the well-known habit of the poet as illustrated in the examples cited above, it would be better to see in these words a reference to poetry in general. If we so interpret, it is interesting to compare the three places in which Horace characterizes the style of the satires, in as much as this passage was written several years after the publication of the first three books of the odes, which none will deny to be poetic.

Now let us turn from these passages to the consideration of another question. Horace shows an affectionate preference for the style of composition he adopted in the satires and epistles. The very unrestraint which had always been a characteristic feature of this branch of literature would in itself appeal forcefully to such a temperament. Assuredly, therefore, there is nothing illogical in the supposition that undoubted poetic genius coupled with such inviting departmental freedom might give rise, nay, under favoring conditions would be almost certain to give rise, to elevated and poetic types of thought and expression. The collection and examination of examples to be cited later attest that these types are particularly to be expected under certain motives and in connection with certain objects which exerted a peculiarly strong and lasting influence upon the poet's life. In these passages are reflected his love of nature, the relations of friendship and intimacy he bore to powerful men of his day, the influence of fellow poets both personal and literary, social cultivation, his love of the country frequently intensified by the pride of ownership. Often, too, the warmth of philosophic discussion elevates the style into the sphere of poetry.

To deny the great mass of the conversational element apparent in the usage of every part of speech in the sermones would be futile.¹

This phase of the subject has received much attention in the editions.

As regards meter, Ribbeck, *Geschichte der römischen Dichtung*, II, p. 160, observes, "With great but concealed art every effort is made to give the verse the stamp of the prose style, without, however, transgressing the laws of euphony and rhythm. In the first place, all those metrical forms which are peculiar to poetry are avoided if possible. Such caesurae, therefore, are proportionately more employed which strike the ear with the natural (Trochaic) cadence of the Latin language. Frequent spondees render the

¹ An interesting collection and classification of examples is found in the treatise of F. Barta, *Sprachliche Studien zu den Satiren des Horaz*, II Theil. Program, Linz, 1881. See for instance his chapters entitled *Umgangsformeln*, p. 23; *Syncopierte Formen*, p. 29.

expression more unrestrained, give it a character for careless ease, and everywhere the most elegant care is manifest for effecting the artistic agreement and unity of contents and cadence. Elision of vowels, shunning evidence of scrupulous choice, is employed abundantly, as in the spoken language." Sellar, *Horace and the Elegiac Poets*, p. 51, speaks as follows: "Had Horace lived in recent times he would probably have been as accomplished a writer of prose as of verse. The subjects of his satires are essentially prosaic. They deal with the material of daily life in a style as nearly as possible approaching to the language of familiar conversation."¹

The above are brief representative views of a well-nigh inexhaustible mass of criticism bearing upon the satires, all emphasizing the view that their subject matter is essentially prosaic, their treatment correspondingly unimaginative; in fact, only modified by the necessary laws of versification.

Now it is no part of my intention to combat the underlying truth of current criticism upon this subject; viz., that Horace has made large use of the conversational sphere. This goes without saying. But one or two things must be borne in mind; first, in accordance with the line of argument above advanced, the passages professing to establish Horace's own opinion must not be called upon to extend and distort this characteristic of style until it become a fabric completely obscuring the real nature of his art. For these passages considered in the proper light and in their proper setting strongly suggest that Horace is conscious, and feels the restraint of that consciousness, that the *sermoni propiora* are not always remote from other spheres, and that *pedestris* and *per humum repens* are not full and satisfactory epithets for his muse.

I am aware that this interpretation of the references cited from the sermones is not in accord with the persistent tradition regarding them. But it should be remembered that literary criticism need not be true to be enduring. Alexander Pope furnishes a striking example in English poetry. The revolution of the Romanticists is the verdict handed down and accepted to the

¹ Cf. Wickham, vol. II, p. 7.

present day. It would appear that this reactionary movement in setting the mold for modern poetic art has given, if it has not established for all time, the form which criticism must take in respect to Pope; viz., certain stereotyped comparisons, first with his great predecessor Dryden, later with the foremost champions of the Romantic School. The result was as predestined as the judgment of Paris. An age of new and reactionary ideals has from its own point of view passed a judgment which, if reduced to merest outline, would read "Pope was not Dryden," or, "Pope was not Wordsworth." It is significant that even to the present day Pope is not discussed upon his own merits. His unique position in literature could of course at no time be overlooked, but the mass of adverse comparison has made this concession an element of "faint praise" in the final effect. A curious phase in this tradition is the persistency of the established criticism as compared with the lack of first hand acquaintance with the author. The mind of the writer has in this investigation constantly reverted to Pope, with whom in style Horace has numerous points in common. The persistent application of the file is a cardinal point in both creeds, and the resulting product, the *aurea mediocritas*, has enriched both languages with a large number of expressions which remain indelibly fixed upon the memory. Striking similarity in parodic treatment occurs, and their styles reveal other points in common which cannot now be discussed.

Allusion has already been made to the exceptional adaptability and congeniality of satire in its traditional unrestraint as a vehicle of expression for our poet's genius. This characteristic of the department manifestly stretches back to the remotest outline of literary monument until the whole subject is shrouded in the uncertainty and conjecture which surround its origin. This traditional unrestraint is reflected not only in the detailed treatment of Horace's style, but in his selection of topics and situations; witness the variety of subjects treated in the satires, and within the range of such selections observe with what freedom he flits from point to point, often careless of strict logical sequence, the embodiment of his own metaphor *circumvolitas agilis thyma*.

Now, however sure we may feel that the conversational element

went hand in hand with the department from the very beginning, though we should even feel assured that this association antedates all our existing literary monuments, I am firmly convinced, viewing satire in its development as a department of literature, that the conversational is not to be regarded as the necessary, in the absolute use of that term, but rather as the most natural reflection of that which is vitally departmental; viz., unrestraint. Conceding, therefore, whatever we may be individually inclined to attribute to the influence of tradition, the retention of the dialogue and conversational element in Horace, as elsewhere, argues quite as much its inherent fitness for a definite literary rôle. Chat is the personification of literary unrestraint. Chat, therefore, with its outgrowths, dialogue and easy discourse, naturally plays an important part in the sermones.

The fact that these same elements are found in like degree in comedy, and that in both satire and comedy they probably spring from a like origin may have led to the association of the two departments in the mind of Horace, as seen in the fourth satire. However, Horace could no more have ignored the real poetry to be found in the old comedy than we can ignore the glimpses of the same in the satires and epistles. For just as conversation, especially of the educated class, being the faithful mirror of fleeting impressions, is broad in scope, including it may be the imaginative and poetic, so departments of literature in which the vital characteristic is unrestraint do no violence to their traditions by marshaling their materials from well-nigh the whole range of literary art.

The breadth of range of the old Attic comedy is an appreciable influence in the sermones of Horace,¹ and as real poetry is an unmistakable element in the style of Aristophanes, so in the citation of examples from the sermones we are to observe the important rôle it plays in Roman Satire. As a matter of fact, Horace himself outlines the composite nature of his art, and it is strange indeed that, in the interpretation of the satires, so little consideration has been given to this passage (*Sat.* 1, 10, 9 ff.):

¹ *Sat.* 1, 10, 16 f.; 1, 4, 1 ff.

est brevitate opus, ut currat sententia neu se
 inpediat verbis lassas onerantibus auris,
 et sermone opus est modo tristi, saepe iocoso,
 defendente vicem modo rhetoris, *atque poetae*,
 interdum urbani, parcentis viribus atque
 extenuantis eas consulto.

There are those who regard the conversational element as the poet's express device to lend the stamp of the prosaic. Such must admit, however, that the disguise is not complete; in other words, that there are glimpses of true poetry, poetry of a high order, where there is probably no conscious imitation on the part of the poet; such passages as appear in the spontaneous expression of personal feeling; other passages which can be traced to an imitation of earlier Greek and Latin poets of the first rank, to say nothing of poetic vocabulary and phrase, poetic syntax, epic parodies, adaptation of epic content, and other poetic types. But the poetic, rhetorical, and conversational elements are the natural manifestation of a great departmental principle. To see in the predominance of the conversational element nothing more than an individual device is to reverse cause and effect, as well as to accuse Horace of grave lapses from a definite rôle.

In this investigation the epistles have been included for the reason that the results would be unsatisfactory if we were left in doubt as to the standing of the epistles from this point of view. Moreover, Horace bears personal testimony¹ to the close relation of this later literary activity to his satires, by the employment of the term *sermones*. There can be little doubt that this includes both satires and epistles. External testimony points in the same direction; see Quint. 1, 10, 94 ff., who in the discussion of Horace has no separate head for the epistles.² These passages will speak for themselves. There is no need here to treat at length the discussions to which these and other direct or indirect references in antiquity have given rise. Internally, as well, it is clearly estab-

¹ *Epp.* 2, 1, 250; 2, 2, 60.

² Compare *Sidonius Carm.* 9, 221 ff.; Porphy. on *Serm.* 1, 1, 1; also on *Epp.* 1, 1, 1.

lished that the resemblances outweigh the differences, though the latter are far from slight. No one can pass directly from the satires to the epistles without being duly impressed with the change of atmosphere, a change however which is somewhat baffling to analyze. Most of the apparent differences stand upon one or two primary distinctions. The first is a formal distinction in the adoption of the epistolary style. Most of the remaining distinctions reflect the natural development of the poet's life. In the epistles we mark a broader circle of literary influence, and a consequent growth of literary appreciation. The years which elapsed between the two productions were years in which metrical elegance was being more and more insisted upon. This is reflected in the superiority of the epistles. Maturity has substituted much philosophical lore and discussion for the brimming life of the satires. Maturity too has wrought conservatism, and in the field of humor we note in the epistles the substitution of the refined and urbane for the more boisterous mirth of the satires. The critical faculty and the didactic element are more marked in the epistles.¹ One thing well worth observing is the almost entire absence of parody in the epistles, and with parody are lacking the rapid contrasts treated in the same connection. No doubt this phenomenon is also partly due to the above mentioned formal distinction; but not altogether. Parody is easy. It has not the same charm for maturity as for youth.

The poetic passages in description of nature also show a majority for the satires. But in the laudatory passages, owing to the more prominent personal element, and in those where the pastoral note is discernible, the epistles present more poetic material, although some of the best in both categories occur in the satires. The same is true of the passages where philosophic earnestness affects the style. The fine passage longer than the rest, reflecting Lucretius in the description of primitive man occurs in the satires (1, 3, 99 ff.). Cases of notably poetic comparisons also show the epistles in the lead.

In our effort to discover the poetic element in the satires and

¹See Brand, *l. c.*

epistles the way is not blazed by that lofty, often distorted imagination characteristic of much modern verse. Of the "low relief of antiquity" Horace is by nature a fit representative. Moderation and self-restraint are the keys to his composition as well as to his life. Again we are not left without direct testimony; see *A. P.* 333 ff.:

aut prodesse volunt aut delectare poetae
aut simul et iucunda et idonea dicere vitae.
quidquid praecipies, esto brevis, ut cito dicta
percipiant animi dociles teneantque fideles :
omne supervacuum pleno de pectore manat.
ficta voluptatis causa sint proxima veris :
ne, quodcumque volet poscat sibi fabula credi,
neu pransae Lamiae vivum puerum extrahat alvo.

The genius of Horace extends to the minutest details of his art. We must be willing to trace every application of the file. See *A. P.* 289 ff.; *Epp.* 2, 1, 167; and especially *A. P.* 45 ff.:

in verbis etiam tenuis cautusque serendis,
hoc amet, hoc spernat promissi carminis auctor.
dixeris egregie, notum si callida verbum
reddiderit iunctura novum.

These lines I suspect were in the mind of Conington when he gave such apt expression to the following, especially, as in the same paragraph he makes prominent reference to Horace's dictum of the file:¹

"We are apt, perhaps, not sufficiently to consider what is involved in the style or diction of poetry. We distinguish sharply between the general conception and the language, as if the power which strikes out the one were something quite different from the skill which elaborates the other. No doubt there is a difference between the two operations, and one which must place a poet like Virgil at a disadvantage as compared with the writers whom he followed; but it would be a mistake to suppose that imagination

¹ *Edit. of Vergil*, Haverfield's revision, vol. I, p. 16.

may not be shown in the words which embody a thought as well as in the thought which they embody. To express a thought in language is in truth to express a larger conception by the help of a number of smaller ones; and the same poetical faculty which originates the one may well be employed in producing the other. It is not merely that the adaptation of the words to the thought itself requires a poet's sense, though this is much; but that the words themselves are images, each possessing, or capable of possessing, a beauty of its own, which need not be impaired, but may be illustrated and set off, by its relative position, as contributing to the development of another and more complex beauty. It is not necessary that these words, in order to be poetical, should be picturesque in the strict sense of the term; on the contrary, it may suit the poet's object to make a physical image retire into the shade, not advance into prominent light: but the imagination will still be appealed to, whatever may be the avenue of approach—by the effect of perspective, by artful juxtaposition, by musical sound, or perhaps, as we have already seen, by remote intellectual association.”

With the Horatian method so clearly outlined by the author's own dictum, it is evident that but one course is open to this investigation; viz., an examination of the smallest elements of style; the sentence, phrase, and vocabulary. This examination it is our purpose to make from both the literary and syntactical points of view.¹ Our attitude toward the passages in Horace which have been supposed to renounce all claim to poetic art is that these passages at most can refer to the general texture of style, and that the modest understatement so apparent in their setting prompts just such an investigation.

Mueller has observed that the passages of poetic elevation are for the most part very short. This is so, but again characteristic of our author's style, and producing a distinct effect, for this “effect of detachment” appears quite as frequently in the odes, and again recalls one of the leading characteristics of Pope.

¹ The syntactical side of the investigation will appear at an early date.

REAL POETRY.

In a large class of examples it seems fruitless to classify, as fruitless as to attempt to establish a law for the rapid play to be observed throughout the satires. Nothing is more distinctive in the satires of Horace than their rapid transitions. We may observe almost within the compass of the same sentence the conversational, elevated, poetic, and parodic element. The poetic touch, as seen in many of the following examples, is to strengthen the tone of genial pleasantry. This object is often effected through contrast, the poetic touch being in striking proximity to treatment of an entirely different nature.

As examples, mark first *Sat.* 2, 6, 102 f., *rubro ubi cocco | tincta super lectos canderet vestis eburnos*,¹ where following closely upon an amusing epic parody we have a poetic description of luxurious apartments. Thus most of the fable of the country and the city mouse has the setting of lofty style in contrast to the simplicity of subject.

There is much of a similar character in the *Canidia* Satire (1, 8), for instance, the poetic touch in the description of the moon, vss. 21 f., *simul ac vaga luna decorum | protulit os*,—cf. *Verg. G.* 4, 232: *simul os terris ostendit honestum*; *A.* 8, 589: *Lucifer . . . extulit os sacrum caelo*. Observe too the elegance of vss. 19 f., *carminibus quae versant atque venenis | humanos animos*. Mark the weird solemnity of vss. 23 ff.: *vidi egomet nigra succinctam vadere palla | Canidiam, . . . pallor utrasque | fecerat horrendas adspectu. scalpere terram | unguibus et pullam divellere mordicus agnam | coeperunt: cruor in fossam confusus, ut inde | manis elicerent animas responsa daturas . . .* *Hecaten vocat altera, saevam | altera Tisiphonen*. With vs. 34 the fantastic imagination again lifts us into the sphere of the poetic,—*serpentes atque videres | infernas errare canis Lunamque rubentem*.

In *Sat.* 1, 1, 68: *Tantalus a labris sitiens fugientia captat | flumina*—Horace is his own commentator for the impression he

¹ The citation of examples is throughout from the edition of Kiessling.

wishes to convey by this apparently serious and poetic reference to mythical material, as is seen in the immediate and abrupt: *quid rides? mutato nomine de te | fabula narratur*. Cf. the appreciative note of Fritzsche on the felicitous word collocation.

Even the gastronomic satire (2, 4) has its parallels; vs. 30: *lubrica nascentes implent conchylia lunae*; vs. 77: *angustoque vagos piscis urgere catino*.

Sat. 2, 5, 49: *siquis casus puerum egerit Orco*. An oracle has naturally a poetic setting, *Sat.* 1, 9, 31: *hunc neque dira venena, nec hosticus auferet ensis*.

In *Epp.* 1, 19, 44: *fidis enim manare poetica mella | te solum*,—Kiessling sees the possibility of a poetic reminiscence and compares *Il.* 1, 249: *τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέειν αὐδῆ*.

Mark the playful touch, *Epp.* 1, 18, 64: *donec | alterutrum velox victoria fronde coronet*; also *Sat.* 1, 5, 97: *dehinc Gnatia lymphis | iratis exstructa dedit risusque iocosque*.

Sat. 2, 1, 57 f., *seu me tranquilla senectus | exspectat seu Mors atris circumvolat alis*,—Horace grows poetic over his determination to write: cf. *Verg.* 6, 866; *Tibul.* 1, 3, 5; *Iliad*, 2, 834, and especially 16, 350; *Odyss.* 4, 180.

Sat. 2, 7, 115: *nam comes atra premit sequiturque fugacem*. Kiessling notes, *Der Gedanke ist das Motiv zu Od.* III, 1, 37 fg. und hat dem berühmten *post equitem sedet atra cura* seine Farbe gelichen. Note the immediate transition in the rejoinder: *unde mihi lapidem?*

In *Epp.* 2, 2, 79 f., observe the contrast of the lines: *tu me inter strepitus nocturnos atque diurnos | vis canere et contracta sequi vestigia vatum?*

Sat. 1, 6, 23 f., *sed fulgente trahit constrictos Gloria curru | non minus ignotos generosis*. Mark the easy reference to the fable immediately preceding, in *propria non pelle quiessem*, and the conversational style immediately following, *quo tibi, Tilli | sumere depositum clavum fierique tribuno?* Cf. *Epp.* 2, 1, 177.

Sat. 2, 3, 136: *in matris iugulo ferrum tepefecit acutum?* Wickham marks the contrast between the epic realism of the line and the semi-comic conclusion of the passage.

Sat. 1, 1, 4 f., gravis annis | miles ait, multo iam fractus membra labore.

We will next cite passages in description of nature or natural phenomena.

Sat. 2, 6, 25 f., sive aquilo radit terras seu bruma nivalem | interiore diem gyro trahit. The verb *radere* has numerous striking uses in the poets; cf. Verg. *A.* 5, 216 f., mox aëre lapsa quieto | radit iter liquidum, celeres neque commovet alas. Cf. Milton, *Par. Lost*, II, 634: "Shaves with level wing the deep."

Other descriptions associated with winter occur. *Sat.* 1, 1, 36: simul inversum contristat Aquarius annum. Cf. Verg. *G.* 3, 279: pluvio contristat frigore caelum.

We have an undoubted poetic verse in *Sat.* 1, 7, 27: ruebat | flumen ut hibernum, fertur quo rara securis. It is in marked contrast to its setting in the wordy war between Rupilius Rex and Persius. Cf. Ov. *Fast.* 4, 649: silva vetus nullaue diu violata securi.

Note the following rapid panorama of distant scenes, where, too, personification lends poetic color, *Epp.* 1, 3, 3 ff.: Thracane vos Hebrusque nivali compede vinctus, | an freta vicinas inter currentia turris, | an pingues Asiae campi collesque morantur? Cf. *Epp.* 1, 16, 12 f.

With this flitting from point to point, yet in their choice of the sunny side of nature a contrast to the above, compare *A. P.*, 16 ff.: cum lucus et ara Dianae | et properantis aquae per amoenos ambitus agros | aut flumen Rhenum aut pluvius describitur arcus. *Epp.* 1, 6, 5 f., quid censes munera terrae, | quid maris extremos Arabas ditantis et Indos. *Sat.* 1, 4, 30: vespertina tepet regio. The brief poetic touch is again in contrast with its setting. Müller notes: In Bezug auf den erhöhten Ton der Rede bemerke man, dass Horaz öfters in Satiren und Episteln, wo er von der *auri sacra fames* redet, pathetisch wird. Cf. *Sat.* 1, 1, 38 ff.

Sat. 1, 1, 58: cum ripa simul avolsos ferat Aufidus acer. Cf. *Od.* 4, 14, 25 ff.: sic tauriformis volvitur Aufidus, | qui regna Dauni præfluit Apuli, | cum saevit horrendamque cultis | diluviem meditatur agris. *Od.* 3, 30, 10: violens Aufidus. *Od.* 4, 9, 2.

Most of the examples quoted above are in description of far away scenes of Thrace, India, etc., but those at home claim none the less share of the poet's attention, especially when the pride of ownership lends charm in the eyes of the poet. Thus in the opening of the sixteenth epistle of the first book, addressed to Quintus, a rather longer description of his estate than usual discloses many poetic touches, one of which occurs in vss. 5 ff. :
 continui montes dissociantur opaca | valle, sed ut veniens dextrum
 latus aspiciat sol, | laevum decedens curru fugiente vaporet, |
 temperiem laudes.

Epp. 1, 18, 104f., me quotiens reficit gelidus Digentia rivus, | quem Mandela bibit, rugosus frigore pagus. With the last phrase it is interesting to compare a line in Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*, Act 1, "Ye icy Springs, stagnant with *wrinkling* frost,"—and still nearer to our passage, Act 2, scene 1,

"When swift from the white Scythian wilderness
 A wind swept forth *wrinkling* the Earth with frost."

Sat. 2, 6, 91 : praerupti nemoris patientem vivere dorso ? comes again from the fable of the city and the country mouse.

Observe the poetic one line description of Anxur as it breaks upon the view in the journey to Brundisium, *Sat.* 1, 5, 26 : inpositum saxis late cudentibus Anxur.

In this connection we will cite a few similes and metaphors. Two come under nature descriptions, *Sat.* 1, 7, 27 ; see p. 20. *Epp.* 1, 16, 13 : ut nec | frigidior Thracam nec purior amiat Hebrus. In these, as in the following, note the employment of the river, a favorite comparison with our author.

The bard in his choice of felicitous expression will flow like a crystal stream, *Epp.* 2, 2, 120 : vemens et liquidus puroque simillimus amni | fundet opes Latiumque beabit divite lingua. *Epp.* 1, 2, 43 : at ille | labitur et labetur in omne volubilis aevum.

The vocabulary of a language grows old, words change and die away like the leaves of the forest, *A. P.* 60 : ut silvae foliis pronos mutantur in annos.

The comparisons, as we shall so frequently observe elsewhere,

are sometimes in contrast to the amusing setting of the description, as at the upstart's dinner party, *Sat.* 2, 8, 13 f., *ut Attica virgo | cum sacris Cereris procedit fuscus Hydaspes.* Vss. 54 ff.: *interea suspensa gravis aulaea ruinas | in patinam fecere, trahentia pulveris atri | quantum non aquilo Campanis excitat agris.* Cf. *Sat.* 1, 4, 31.

In the following the editors have noted a probable reminiscence. *Sat.* 1, 1, 114 ff.: *ut, cum carceribus missos rapit ungula currus, | instat equis auriga suos vincentibus, illum | praeteritum temnens extremos inter cuntem.* Verg. *G.* 1, 512 ff.: *saevit toto Mars impius orbe; | ut cum carceribus sese effudere quadrigae, | addunt in spatio, et frustra retinacula tendens | fertur equis auriga, neque audit currus habenas.*

Examination shows the setting of the Horace passage quite natural and easy, whilst the comparison of Vergil seems not well chosen. Sellar, *Roman Poets, Vergil*, p. 174, thinks Vergil had the Horace passage in mind. He is followed by Wickham. Kiessling leans to the same solution; see his note, and introduction to the satires, p. xiv f.

Compare the simile of the bear, *A. P.* 472 f., *ac velut ursus, | obiectos caveae valuit si frangere clathros;* of the bee, *Epp.* 1, 3, 21: *quae circumvolitas agilis thyma?* of the horse, *Epp.* 1, 2, 64: *figit equum tenera docilem cervice magister,*—of the hunting-dog, *Epp.* 1, 2, 65 ff., *venaticus, ex quo | tempore cervinam pellem latravit in aula, | militat in silvis catulus.*

The following are less striking, *Epp.* 2, 2, 201 f., *non agimur tumidis velis aquilone secundo, | non tamen adversis aetatem ducimus austris.* *Sat.* 2, 1, 40 f., *et me veluti custodiet ensis | vagina tectus.*

Several pastoral passages are to be noted, some strongly recalling the eclogues of Vergil, which it is more than likely Horace had read or heard. *Sat.* 1, 10, 44 f., *molle atque facetum | Vergilio adnuerunt gaudentes rure camenae,* would suggest not only that Vergil had published his eclogues, but that Horace appreciated and had imbibed some of their spirit.

Seemingly reminiscent of the fourth eclogue in its suggestion

of the return of peace and the golden age is *Epp.* 1, 12, 28 f., aurea fruges | Italiae pleno defudit Copia cornu. Cf. Hor. *C. S.* 59 f., adparetque beata pleno | Copia cornu. There are numerous parallels in Horace. Cf. *Od.* 1, 17, 16; 4, 2, 40; 4, 5, 17; 4, 15, 5. Material prosperity with rich harvests lends much of the attraction in all these pictures.

Sat. 2, 2, 124 f., ac venerata Ceres, ita culmo surgetet alto, | explicuit vino contractae seria frontis. Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 5, 39; 6, 39; *G.* 1, 161.

Epp. 1, 16, 2 f., arvo pascat erum an bacis opulentet olivae, | pomisne an pratis an amicta vitibus ulmo.

Epp. 1, 2, 45: et incultae pacantur vomere silvae. *Sat.* 1, 1, 28: ille gravem duro terram qui vertit aratro. Cf. *A. P.* 66.

Epp. 1, 10, 6 f., ego laudo ruris amoeni | rivos et musco circumlita saxa nemusque. Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 6, 62.

Epp. 1, 16, 8 ff.: quid, si rubicunda benignae | corna vepres et pruna ferant? si quercus et ilex | multa fruge pecus, multa dominum iuvet umbra?

Epp. 1, 8, 4 ff.: haud quia grando | contuderit vitis oleamve momorderit aestus, | nec quia longinquis armentum aegrotet in agris.

Sat. 1, 3, 37: namque | neglectis urenda filix innaseitur agris. Cf. Verg. *G.* 2, 189: et filicem curvis invisam pascit aratris.

Epp. 1, 14, 26 ff.: et tamen urgues | iam pridem non tacta ligonibus arva bovemque | disiunctum curas et strictis frondibus explēs.

Epp. 2, 1, 207: lana Tarentino violas imitata veneno. Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 4, 42. *Epp.* 2, 2, 160 f., et vilicus Orbi, | cum segetes occat tibi mox frumenta daturas. Cf. *Sat.* 2, 2, 115.

Note in the comparison Horace makes for Fuscus in *Epp.* 1, 10 how the poetic touches appear on the side of the country as against the city; see *Epp.* 1, 10, 6 f., cited above. Cf. *Epp.* 1, 10, 15 ff.: est ubi plus tepeant hiemes, ubi gratior aura | leniat et rabiem Canis et momenta Leonis, | cum semel accepit Solem furibundus acutum? In the city even an artificial likeness to the country commends itself, vss. 22 f., nempe inter varias nutritur silva columnas, | laudaturque domus longos quae prospicit agros.

From these passages together with those cited under nature descriptions, we are in a position to suspect the correctness of Tyrrell's view that Horace was not a lover of the country for its own sake; see his "Latin Poetry," p. 189 ff.

The next group to be considered is composed of distinctly laudatory passages. By far the greater number pertain to Augustus, many to his military achievements. As we should expect these passages reveal considerable poetic material. We note first the achievements of Augustus among the Parthians, *Epp.* 1, 18, 54 ff.: denique saevam | militiam puer et Cantabrica bella tulisti | sub duce qui templis Parthorum signa refigit. Cf. *Sat.* 2, 5, 62 ff.: tempore quo iuvenis Parthis horrendus, ab alto | demissum genus Aenea, tellure marique | magnus erit. Cf. Verg. *A.* 1, 288: Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo. Verg. *G.* 3, 35: demissaeque ab Iove gentis.

Highly poetic and in an epic vein is *Sat.* 2, 1, 13 ff.: neque enim quivis horrentia pilis | agmina nec fracta pereuntis cuspide Gallos | aut labentis equo describit volnera Parthi.

Sat. 2, 1, 10 ff., aude | Caesaris invicti res dicere, multa laborum | praemia laturus, where observe the satirical note in the mouth of Trebatius. Wickham notes that Horace employs *invictus* of Achilles, *Epod.* 13, 12; and of Juppiter, *Od.* 3, 27, 73.

Epp. 2, 2, 47 ff., me civilis tulit aestus in arma | Caesaris Augusti non responsura lacertis. *Epp.* 1, 3, 8: bella quis et paces longum diffundit in aevum? *Epp.* 1, 17, 33 f., res gerere, et captos ostendere civibus hostis, | attingit solium Iovis et caelestia temptat.

It is not perfectly clear in the following reference whether Horace has in mind Julius Caesar or Augustus. *A. P.* 63 ff.: sive receptus | terra Neptunus classis aquilonibus arcet, | regis opus, sterilisve palus diu aptaque remis | vicinas urbis alit et grave sentit aratrum, | seu cursum mutavit iniquum frugibus amnis | doctus iter melius: mortalia facta peribunt, | nedum sermonum stet honos et gratia vivax.

Epp. 2, 1, 5 ff.: Romulus et Liber pater et cum Castore Pollux, | post ingentia facta deorum in templa recepti, | dum

terras hominumque colunt genus. Here in the adulation of the poet Augustus is grouped, at least by implication, with the deities of vs. 5, and with Hercules in vss. 10 ff.

Elevated, and frequently poetic, is *Epp.* 2, 1, 245 ff. :

at neque dedecorant tua de se iudicia atque
munera quae multa dantis cum laude tulerunt
dilecti tibi Vergilius Variusque poetae,
nec magis expressi voltus per aenea signa
quam per vatis opus mores animique virorum
clarorum adparent. nec sermones ego mallem
repentis per humum quam res componere gestas,
terrarumque situs et flumina dicere et arcis
montibus inpositas et barbara regna tuisque
auspiciis totum confecta duella per orbem
claustraque custodem pacis cohibentia Ianum
et formidatam Parthis te principe Romam.

Sat. 1, 10, 48 f. is a poetic reference to Lucilius: neque ego illi detrahere ausim | haerentem capiti cum multa laude coronam.

Several laudatory poetic touches occur in the epistle to Julius Florus (1, 3); see above the one upon Augustus, vs. 8. Vs. 25 concerns Julius Florus himself: prima feres hederæ victricis præmia. Vs. 12 f. refers to Titus: fidibusne Latinis | Thebanos aptare modos studet auspice musa; also vs. 10 f., Pindarici fontis qui non expalluit haustus, | fastidire lacus et rivos ausus apertos. Note the fine effect of *expallesco* employed transitively.

Sat. 2, 1, 66: qui | duxit ab oppressa meritum Carthagine nomen.

Next to be considered are passages where a tone of philosophic earnestness elevates the style into the poetic sphere.

A strong passage on the primitive condition of man, containing much of the thought of *Lucretius* 5, 803 ff., is *Sat.* 1, 3, 99 ff. Mark especially vss. 99 ff., cum prorepserunt primis animalia terris, | mutum et turpe pecus, glandem atque cubilia propter | unguibus et pugnīs . . . pugnabant; and vss. 108 ff.: sed ignotis

perierunt mortibus, illi | quos Venerem incertam rapientes more
ferarum | viribus editior caedebat ut in grege taurus.

Death is the leveler of possessions and possessor, *Epp.* 2, 2, 177 ff.: quid vici prosunt aut horrea, quidve Calabris | saltibus
adiecti Lucani, si metit Orcus | grandia cum parvis, non exora-
bilis auro? Cf. *Od.* 2, 18, 34.

The event of nature is heralded by the flight of years, which steal in their course the delights of life, *Epp.* 2, 2, 55: singula
de nobis anni praedantur euntes. Envy pursues to the end, witness the case of Hercules, *Epp.* 2, 1, 10 ff.: diram qui con-
tudit hydram | notaque fatali portenta labore subegit, | conperit
invidiam supremo fine domari.

For an elevated description of natural phenomena referred to Empedocles and Stertinius, cf. *Epp.* 1, 12, 15 ff.: et adhuc sub-
limia cures, | quae mare conpescant causae, quid temperet annum, |
stellae sponte sua iussaene vagentur et errent, | quid premat
obscurum lunae, quid proferat, orbem, | quid velit et possit rerum
concordia discors, | Empedocles an Stertinium deliret acumen.
Cf. Verg. *G.* 2, 475 ff.; *Prop.* 4, 5, 25 ff.

A simple mode of living once appreciated will be adhered to even in prosperity, *Epp.* 1, 12, 8 f., sic vives protinus, ut te |
confestim liquidus Fortunae rivus inauret.

A word once uttered may never be recalled, *Epp.* 1, 18, 70 f.,
nec retinent patulae commissa fideliter aures, | et semel emissum
volat inrevocabile verbum.

Mark the elegance of *Sat.* 2, 2, 79: atque adfigit humo divinae
particulam aerae.

The following are interesting as reflecting the emotional side of our author:

Mark the sympathy of *Epp.* 1, 14, 6 ff.: me quamvis Lamiae
pietas et cura moratur, | fratrem maerentis, raptō de fratre do-
lētis | insolabiliter. This touch recalls for a moment the general
rhythm and expression of Catullus. Note the repetition and
rhyme.

In *Sat.* 1, 5, 43, we have the joy of meeting: o qui complexus
et gaudia quanta fuerunt! in *Sat.* 2, 6, 60 ff., the longing for his
beloved country: o rus, quando ego te aspiciam quandoque lice-

bit | nunc veterum libris, nunc somno, et inertibus horis | ducere sollicitae iucunda oblivia vitae? Observe the metrical beauty of the last verse, and the felicitous collocation of vowels and consonants.

Naturally an elevation of style accompanies an expression of filial affection, *Sat.* 1, 6, 93 ff.: nam si natura iuberet | a certis annis aevum remeare peractum, | atque alios legere ad fastum quoscumque parentes | optaret sibi quisque, meis contentus honestos | fascibus et sellis nollem mihi sumere.

In *Epp.* 1, 19, 21 f., Horace is again proudly in earnest: libera per vacuum posui vestigia princeps, | non aliena meo pressi pede.

Lastly may be noted a few passages in praise of wine. *Sat.* 1, 4, 89: condita cum verax aperit praecordia Liber. Cf. the playful *Epp.* 1, 19, 3 ff.: ut male sanos | adscripsit Liber Satyris Faunisque poetas, | vina fere dulces oluerunt mane Camenae. | laudibus arguitur vini vinosus Homerus: | Ennius ipse pater numquam nisi potus ad arma | prosiluit dicenda. Cf. too *Epp.* 1, 5, 16 ff.: operta recludit, | spes iubet esse ratas, ad proelia trudit inertem, | sollicitis animis onus eximit, addocet artis. | fecundi calices quem non fecere disertum? | contracta quem non in paupertate solutum?¹

PARODY.

As indicated in the introduction we naturally find most of this in the earlier work of the poet, viz., the *Satires*. Parody is the hand-maid of satire, and by its very nature finds its home in the satiric sphere. Wherever in antiquity a department of literature clothed itself in an essentially distinctive form and language, parody, especially with the quick-witted Greeks, immediately arose to suit humorous and frequently ridiculous material to the new mold. For such comic adaptation epic and tragedy were manifestly the richest field. The ass delighted to disport in the skin of the lion.

¹ Cf. *Sat.* 2, 6, 67 ff.; *Epp.* 1, 14, 34 f.; *Epp.* 1, 15, 18.

Parody is not a business with Horace. No detailed employment of it parallel to that of the great Greek master is to be found. It is not sought, but comes unbidden. There is no straining for effect. The brief touches which enliven the satires impress us as genuine ebullitions of innate humor, the natural expression of a mind richly dowered with literary reminiscence at play in the freedom of satiric style.

The parodic touch is at times broad and unmistakable, at times subtle and insinuating, now dealing with well-known or characteristic epic phraseology, or shading into half-tones of mock solemnity; now running in elusive, not to say baffling suggestiveness of the very breath or spirit of epic and tragic style.

We will first note two humorous and frequently quoted parodies of epic descriptions of night. *Sat.* 1, 5, 9 f., iam nox inducere terris | umbras et caelo diffundere signa parabat. Cf. *Il.* 14, 259 ff. The goddess Night lends Latin poetry many beautiful metaphors. Ennius, *Vahlen A.* 339: hinc Nox processit stellis ardentibus apta. Verg. *A.* 2, 360: nox atra cava circumvolat umbra; 3, 198: nox humida caelum abstulit; 1, 89: ponto nox incubat atra: 2, 250: vertitur interea caelum et ruit oceano nox, | involvens umbra magna terramque polumque. Cf. *Ov. Met.* 11, 309: nox atra cava circumvolat umbra. There are frequent parallels in later Latin epic.

This parody renders more humorous by contrast the succeeding lines which Wiekham aptly terms a "Dutch picture."

Nox no less than Sol is frequently represented as traversing the heavens in her chariot; note the parody in *Sat.* 2, 6, 100 ff., iamque tenebat | Nox medium caeli spatium, cum ponit uterque | in locuplete domo vestigia. Cf. Eurip. *Ion* 1150: μελάμπεπλος δὲ Νύξ ἀσείρωτον ζυγοῖς | ὄχημ' ἔπαλλεν. Cf. also Verg. *A.* 5, 721: et Nox atra polum bigis subvecta tenebat. *Tibul.* 2, 1, 87 f., iam Nox iungit equos, currumque secuntur | matris lascivo sidera fulva choro,—3, 4, 17 f., iam Nox aetherium nigris emensa quadrigis | mundum caeruleo laverat amne rotas. See Langen on *Val. Flac.* 3, 211; *Stat. Theb.* 2, 59.

Another parodic touch is *Sat.* 1, 5, 20: iamque dies aderat cum.

The following examples indicate that Horace had Homer more or less in mind. *Sat.* 1, 5, 51 ff.: nunc mihi paucis | Sarmenti scurrae pugnam Messique Cicirri, | musa, velim memores et quo patre natus uterque | contulerit litis. Messi clarum genus Osci, | Sarmenti domina exstat: ab his maioribus orti | ad pugnam venere. Mueller thinks that Horace has here the beginning of the *Odyssey* in mind.

The muse is addressed again in *Epp.* 1, 8, 2: Musa rogata refer, where however the allusion is but playful.

Sat. 2, 5, 20 f., fortem hoc animum tolerare iubebo: et quondam maiora tulit. Cf. *Odys.* 20, 18: τέτλαθι δῆ, κραδίη, καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ' ἔτλης. Fortem probably translates the epithet τλήμονα.

In *Sat.* 2, 1, 60: 'o puer, ut sis vitalis metuo,' Horace is doubtless parodying *Il.* 18, 95: ὠκύμορος δῆ μοι, τέκος, ἔσσεαι, οἴ' ἀγορεύεις.

Sat. 1, 7, 9 ff.:

postquam nihil inter utrumque
convenit (hoc etenim sunt omnes iure molesti
quo fortes quibus adversum bellum incidit. inter
Hectora Priamiden, animosum atque inter Achillem
ira fuit capitalis, ut ultima divideret mors,
non aliam ob causam nisi quod virtus in utroque
summa fuit: duo si Discordia vexet inertis
aut si disparibus bellum incidat, ut Diomedi
cum Lycio Glaucō, discedat pigrior, ultro
muneribus missis), Bruto praetore, tenente
ditem Asiam, Rupili et Persi par pugnat uti non
conpositum melius cum Bitho Bacchius.

Horace approaches the ridiculous encounter between Persius and Rupilius Rex as some soul-stirring event. Mark the retarding effect of the long parenthesis, with the drop at its close from epic material to the details of a ludicrous wrangle. Some of the expressions suggest well-known Homeric phrases, *i. e.*, adversum bellum, δῆϊος πόλεμος, *Il.* 4, 281; animosum Achillem, μεγάλθυμος Ἀχιλλεύς; ultima . . . mors, τέλος θανάτῳ. Note the epic verse ending, a monosyllable following a choriambus. Cf. *Odys.*

5, 294: ὀρώρει δ' οὐρανόθεν νύξ. Verg. *A.* 2, 250: ruit Oceano nox. Horace burlesques this use in *A. P.* 139: nascetur ridiculus mus. For comic effect Horace intentionally departs from the description of *Il.* 6, 235, where there is no suggestion of cowardice on the part of Glaucus. More fair would have been the imputation of avarice and cunning to Diomedes.

For further epic touches in this satire cf. vs. 28: multoque fluenti, and vs. 30: durus | vindemiator et invictus.

In *Epp.* 1, 18, 18: pretium aetas altera sordet, Kiessling sees a parody of *Il.* 9, 444 ff.: ἀπὸ σείῳ, φίλον τέκος, οὐκ ἐθέλοιμι | λείπεσθ', οὐδ' εἴ κέν μοι ὑποσταίῃ θεὸς αὐτὸς | γῆρας ἀποξύσας θήσειν νέον ἡβώνοντα.

Sat. 2, 5, 49: siquis casus puerum egerit Orco, suggests *Il.* 1, 3: "Αἰδι προΐαψεν.

Sat. 1, 9, 78: sic me servavit Apollo. Cf. *Il.* 20, 443, of the rescue of Hector: τὸν δ' ἐξήρπαξεν Ἀπόλλων. In the very same vein is vs. 20 of this same satire: demitto auriculas, recalling the pathetic words of *Odyss.* 17, 302: οὐατα κάμβαλεν.

Sat. 2, 3, 72: cum rapies in ius malis ridentem alienis. Cf. *Odyss.* 20, 347: γναθμοῖσι γελῶν ἀλλοτρίοισιν. See Porphyrio on the passage.

Sat. 1, 2, 69; diceret haec animus. Mueller notes: wie bei Homer Odysseus seinen μεγαλήτορα θυμόν anredet (nachgeahmt von Ennius Ann. vi, 25), so wird auch hier der Geist vom Menschen geschieden.

Sat. 1, 8, 40: singula quid memorem is an amusing touch in the mock solemnity of the Canidia satire.

With a like effect *Sat.* 1, 10, 32, represents Romulus' appearance to Horace in a dream. Romulus immediately mouths a proverb, and so heightens the parody: vetuit me tali voce Quirinus, | post mediam noctem visus, cum somnia vera: | 'in silvam non ligna feras insanius ac si | magnas Graecorum malis inplere catervas.'

In *Sat.* 2, 8, 73 f., Balatro tops off his ironical speech with a mock heroic phrase: sed convivatoris uti ducis ingenium res | adversae nudare solent, celare secundae.

A few examples in the form of a prayer may be cited. *Sat.*

2, 6, 20 ff.: Matutine pater seu Iane libentius audis, | unde homines operum primos vitaeque labores | instituunt (sic dis placitum), tu carminis esto | principium. Cf. *Il.* 24, 308.

Epp. 1, 16, 62: 'Iane pater Apollo da mihi fallere, da iusto sanctoque videri, | noctem peccatis et fraudibus obice nubem.' Müller notes: wie die Götter bei Homer selbst ἡέρι καὶ νεφέλῃ unerkennbar einherschreiten, auch ihre Schützlinge in solcher Verhüllung der Gefahr entziehen; *Il.* 3, 380 f.; 20, 443 f.

Sat. 2, 5, 59 f., 'o Laertiade, quidquid dicam aut erit aut non: divinare etenim magnus mihi donat Apollo.' Mueller's argument against the above punctuation is entirely without force. From the point of view of Tiresias the word collocation is perfectly innocent of ambiguity, equivalent to the τὰ δέ τοι νημερτέα εἶρω of *Odyss.* 11, 137; but with Horace, without doubt, the intention was to augment the humor of the parody by the implied untrustworthiness of ancient oracles.

Oracular language is again employed for ludicrous effect in *Sat.* 2, 4, 10: ede hominis nomen, and in the answer, vs. 11: ipsa memor praecepta canam, celabitur auctor.

In *Sat.* 1, 2, 37 f., audire est operae pretium, procedere recte | qui moechos non voltis, ut omni parte laborent,—Horace has a parody of Ennius of rather coarse application, Vahlen *A.* 465: audire est operae pretium, procedere recte | qui rem Romanam Latiumque augescere vultis. Cf. *Sat.* 2, 4, 63: est operae pretium, where Horace may have had the same phrase in mind.

The following may also be Ennian parodies; note the Vergilian parallels. *Sat.* 2, 8, 34: nos nisi damnose bibimus, moriemur inulti; cf. Verg. *A.* 2, 670: numquam omnes hodie moriemur inulti. *Sat.* 1, 5, 73 f., nam vaga per veterem dilapso flamma culinam | Volcano summum properabat lambere tectum; cf. Verg. *A.* 2, 684: lambere flamma comas; *Lucret.* 5, 396. Mark the alliteration.

Mueller sees in *A. P.* 421 a possible parody of Verg. *A.* 9, 26. This is to be regarded as the very remotest of possibilities.

Two passages very well attested as referring to the same poet, Furius Bibaculus, are *Sat.* 1, 10, 36 f., turgidus Alpinus iugulat

dum Memnona dumque | diffingit Rheni luteum caput; *Sat.* 2, 5, 39 ff.: seu rubra canicula findet | infantis statuas, seu pingui tentus omaso | Furius hibernas cana nive conspuet Alpīs.

The following are good examples of the heroic *γνωμή*: *Sat.* 2, 2, 135 f., quocirca vivite fortes | fortiaque adversis opponite pectora rebus; cf. Eurip. *Bellerophon frag.* 304, Nauck: *θάρος δὲ πρὸς τὰς συμφορὰς μέγα σθένει*. *Sat.* 1, 9, 59 f., nil sine magno vita labore dedit mortalibus. The editors cite Soph. *Electra* 945: *πόνου τοι χωρὶς οὐδὲν εὐτυχεῖ*. Pind. *Ol.* x (xī), 24 f.; Hesiod *Op.* 289: *τῆς δ'ἀρετῆς ἰδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάρουθεν ἔθηκαν*.

Sat. 2, 8, 65 f. may be cited as a parody of philosophic earnestness: "haec est condicio vivendi" aiebat, "eoque | responsura tuo numquam est par fama labori."

In the close of his culinary satire Horace humorously parodies the Epicurean doctrine of Lucretius; see *Sat.* 2, 4, 93 ff.: at mihi cura | non mediocris inest, fontis ut adire remotos | atque haurire queam vitae praecepta beatae; cf. *Lucret.* 4, 2 f., iuvat integros accedere fontis | atque haurire.

A few less prominent examples are to be found in the Epistles. *Epp.* 2, 2, 91 f., each poet's exclamation upon seeing the others work: mirabile visu | caelatumque novem Musis opus! *Epp.* 1, 10, 8 f., vivo et regno, simul ista reliqui | quae vos ad caelum effertis rumore secundo. *Epp.* 2, 1, 109 f., puerique patresque severi | fronde comas vincti cenant et carmina dictant.

Sat. 1, 5, 3: Graecorum longe doctissimus, is a mock heroic touch. Note the amusing setting of the archaic and epic formula in *Sat.* 1, 2, 31 f., 'macte | virtute esto.'

Sat. 2, 6, 93 ff. strongly recalls Eurip. *Alkest.* 782 ff.,

carpe viam, mihi crede, comes; terrestria quando
mortalis animas vivunt sortita neque ullast
aut magno aut parvo leti fuga: quo, bone, circa,
dum licet, in rebus iucundis vive beatus,
vive, memor quam sis aevi brevis.

βροτοῖς ἅπασι κατθανεῖν ὀφείλεται,
οὐκ ἔστιν θνητῶν ὅστις ἐξεπίσταται
τὴν αὔριον μέλλουσαν εἰ βιώσεται

.

ταῦτ' οὖν ἀκούσας καὶ μαθὼν ἔμοῦ πάρα,
εὐφραϊνε σαυτὸν, πίνε, τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν
βίον λογίζου σὸν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τῆς Τύχης.

In *Sat.* 2, 3, 187 ff., the illustration has been taken bodily, names included, from well-known Homeric material. Whilst the subject matter is partly epic, the treatment is dramatic, with droll and parodic touch. Agamemnon is throughout the haughty imperturbable king. The humor of the situation consists in the fact that the Stoic does not manifest the necessary humility, but begins with easy and careless assurance, “ne quis humasse velit Aiacem, Atrida, vetas cur?” The icy and crushing retort of Agamemnon, “rex sum,” falls on the unprepared Stoic like the staff on the back of Thersites, and the result here as there is a whimper; note the humble and prostrate rejoinder, “nil ultra quaero plebeius.” Having so effectually established his authority, the king condescends to justify his course. The Stoic, however, has learned his lesson so well that he needs further encouragement before he will proceed. This time the comic effect is heightened by the fact that he mouths a verse of the *Iliad* (1, 18). He grows more fearless and dramatic as he proceeds, but does not again drop into the tone of vs. 187. On vs. 192 Wickham rightly observes that part of the humor consists in the burlesque mingling of technicalities of Roman life with Homeric echoes. Note *consulere—respondere licebit*, and cf. with the Homeric reminiscence of vss. 191, 193, and 195. The consummate blend of these various elements makes this passage one of the most delightful bits in Horace.

In the same connection attention may be called to the dramatic elements of the dialogue between Stertinius and Damasippus in the early part of this same satire.

In connection with parody, the following cases should be considered where a contrast, less prominent but none the less intended, occurs between short elevated passages and a conversational setting. These elevated passages frequently shade into the parodic and poetic.

Sat. 2, 2, 40 f., at vos | praesentes, austri, coquite horum obsonia. Note the mock solemnity of the invocation, and compare the familiar *coquite*.

Sat. 2, 8, 61 ff., heu, Fortuna, quis est crudelior in nos | te deus: ut semper gaudes inludere rebus | humanis. *Sat.* 2, 5, 101 f., ergo nunc Dama sodalis | nusquam est? unde mihi tam fortem tamque fidelem?

In *Sat.* 2, 3, 288 ff., note the elevated setting of the mother's prayer as contrasted with its content: Iuppiter, ingentis qui das adimisque dolores | . . . frigida si puerum quartana reliquerit, illo | mane die quo tu indicis ieiunia nudus | in Tiberi stabit.

Sat. 2, 6, 65: o noctes cenaque deum. A playful reference to the frugal, but satisfying fare of his country home. Cf. vs. 50: frigidus a rostris manat per compita rumor; vs. 86 f., cupiens varia fastidia cena | vincere tangentis male singula dente superbo.

Sat. 1, 5, 102 f., nec siquid miri faciat natura deos id | tristis ex alto caeli demittere tecto. Here immediately Horace ends the satire with the abrupt: Brundisium longae finis chartaeque viaequest.

Sat. 1, 2, 119: namque parabilem amo Venerem facilemque. Note the nasal assonance and fine caste of a line occurring in a passage which by reason of its coarseness generally goes without annotation.

Sat. 2, 3, 87: frumenti quantum metit Africa. Observe the poetic touch in personification and in the use of the verb *meto* in a transitive sense.

Sat. 1, 7, 21: in ius | acres procurrunt. Cf. vs. 24 f., solem Asiae Brutum adpellat stellasque salubris | adpellat comites. *Sat.* 1, 5, 8: ventri indico bellum.

The ludicrous effect is frequently heightened by withholding the conversational element until the end of sentence or clause.

Sat. 2, 5, 109 f., sed me | imperiosa trahit Proserpina: vive valeque. A good example is *Sat.* 2, 5, 14: ante larem gustet venerabilior lare dives. *Sat.* 2, 3, 16 f., di te, Damasippe, deaeque | verum ob consilium donent tonsore. *Sat.* 1, 3, 87: cum tristes misero venere calendae.

ELEVATED PASSAGES.

In the course of this investigation I have collected a number of elevated citations, some of which shade into the poetic. I shall cite a few of these without comment.

Sat. 2, 3, 222 f., quem cepit vitrea fama, | hunc circumtonuit gaudens Bellona cruentis.

Many are found in the genial elegance of the epistles. *Epp.* 1, 7, 10 ff.: quodsi bruma nivis Albanis inlinet agris, | ad mare descendet vates tuus et sibi parcat | contractusque leget: te, dulcis amice, reviset | cum zephyris, si concedes, et hirundine prima. Here, inasmuch as it opens in the form of an epistle, may be cited *Sat.* 1, 6, 4: olim qui magnis legionibus imperitarent. Cartault notes: style noble rappelant *Lucrèce* et *Ennius*.

As we should expect, perhaps more of this feature is discernible in the epistle to Augustus (2, 1) than in any other. The entire introductory passage of twenty-seven lines might be quoted; also vss. 132-138; for instance vs. 26 f., annosa volumina vatum | dictitet Albano Musas in monte locutas. Mark the elegant description of early rural simplicity, with its characteristic *Fescennina licentia*, vss. 139-150.

Vss. 156 f., Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artis | intulit agresti Latio. Note in vss. 190 ff., the rapid and mocking lines descriptive of the new complexion of the drama: dum fugiunt equitum turmae peditumque catervae; | mox trahitur manibus regum fortuna retortis, | esseda festinant, pilenta, petorrita, naves, | captivum portatur ebur, captiva Corinthus.

Vss. 216 ff.: curam redde brevem, si munus Apolline dignum | vis complere libris et vatibus addere calcar, | ut studio maiore petant Helicon virentem.

In accordance with Horace's own dictum, *A. P.* 45 ff., we observe many passages where the elegance turns upon the felicitous choice of a word or brief phrase. Such passages are found in most of the categories cited. The following are good examples.

Epp. 1, 10, 26 f., non qui Sidonio contendere callidus ostro |

nescit Aquinatem *potantia* vellera fucum. *Sat.* 2, 1, 61 f., maiorum nequis amicus | *frigore* te feriat. *Epp.* 1, 18, 103: an secretum iter et fallentis semita vitae. *Epp.* 1, 1, 51: cui sit condicio dulcis *sine pulvere palmae*. *Sat.* 2, 6, 67 ff.: prout cuique libidost | siccat *inaequalis* calices conviva solutus | legibus insanis, seu quis capit *acria fortis* | pocula seu modicis *iuvescit* laetius. *Epp.* 1, 16, 11: dicas adductum propius *frondere* Tarentum. Mark the personification in *Epp.* 1, 11, 15: nec si te *validus* iactaverit auster in alto. *Epp.* 1, 2, 6 f., fabula, qua Paridis propter narratur amorem | *Graecia barbariae* lento collisa *duello*. *Sat.* 1, 6, 28: et latum *demisit* pectore clavum. *Epp.* 2, 1, 225: *tenui* deducta poemata *filo*.

POETIC REMINISCENCE.

This study would be incomplete without some attention to poetic reminiscence, of which there is so much in Horace. Under this head I have made very large use of the editions which have generally given more attention to this phase of the subject than to any other.

As would be expected there is more reminiscence of Homer than of any other Greek poet (poet in the sense of this investigation). Homeric reminiscence has been treated for the odes and epodes by A. Paskiewicz,¹ and more generally by J. Tolkiehn.² It is frequently difficult to say whether a given example should be classed here or under parody, just as no full conception of the extent of Homeric reminiscence in Horace is obtainable if the parodic side be ignored. The following examples therefore should be carefully compared with those cited under Parody.

We shall note first actual translations. *Epp.* 1, 2, 19 ff., is a free translation of the first five lines of the *Odyssey*: qui domitor Troiae multorum providus urbis | et mores hominum inspexit latumque per aequor, | dum sibi, dum sociis reditum parat, aspera multa | pertulit, adversis rerum immersabilis undis.

¹ *De Horatio Homeri Imitatore*, Lemberg, 1888.

² *Homer und die römische Poesie*, Leipzig, 1900.

Another translation of the opening lines of the *Odyssey* occurs in A. P. 141 f., *dic mihi, Musa, virum, captae post moenia Troiae | qui mores hominum multorum vidit et urbis.*

Note a paraphrase in *Epp.* 1, 7, 41 ff.: *non est aptus equis Ithace locus, ut neque planis | porrectus spatiis nec multae prodigus herbae: | Atride, magis apta tibi tua dona relinquam.* Cf. *Odyss.* 4, 601 ff.: *ἵππους δ' εἰς Ἰθάκην οὐκ ἄξομαι, ἀλλὰ σοὶ αὐτῷ | ἐνθάδε λείψω ἄγαλμα· σὺ γὰρ πεδίοιο ἀνάσσεις | εὐρέος, ἐν δ' Ἰθάκῃ οὐτ' ἄρ' δρόμοι εὐρέες οὔτε τι λειμών.*

In A. P. 137 we have a single line translated from a cyclic poet: *fortunam Priami cantabo et nobile bellum.*

The relation of Horace to Homer can best be appreciated by observing his outline of his reading of that author addressed to Lollius in the second epistle of the first book. The outline occupies a considerable portion of the epistle. The opening verses may be quoted:

Troiani belli scriptorem, Maxime Lolli
dum tu declamas Romae, Praeneste relegi:
qui quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,
planius ac melius Chrysippo et Crantore dicit.
cur ita crediderim, nisi quid te distinet, audi.

In the following there is strong suggestion of definite Homeric phraseology.

Sat. 2, 3, 191: *di tibi deut capta classem reducere Troia.* Cf. *Il.* 1, 18 f., *ὑμῖν μὲν θεοὶ δοῖεν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες | ἐκπέρσαι Πριάμοιο πόλιν, ἐν δ' οἴκαδ' ἰκέσθαι.*¹

Sat. 2, 3, 195: *gaudeat ut populus Priami Priamusque inhumato,*—is almost a translation of *Il.* 1, 255, though the subject matter differs: *ἦ κεν γηθήσαι Πρίαμος Πρίαμοιό τε παῖδες.*

Sat. 1, 2, 32: *inquit sententia dia Catonis.* Cf. such well-known Homeric phrases as *μῆνις Ἀχιλλῆος* and *ἕς Τελεμάχοιο.*

Sat. 2, 1, 26 f., *Castor gaudet equis, ovo prognatus eodem | pugnis.* Cf. *Il.* 3, 237: *Κάστωρ δ' ἵπποδαμον καὶ πύξ ἀγαθὸν Πολυδεύκεα.*

¹ See Tolkiehn, l. c., p. 47, note 1.

Sat. 2, 5, 18 f., haud ita Troiæ | me gessi, certans semper melioribus. Wickham, following Palmer, thinks it probable that we here have an Homeric echo. Cf. *Il.* 21, 486: κρείσσοσιν ἱφιμάχεσθαι.

Epp. 1, 18, 71: et semel emissum volat inrevocabile verbum. Cf. *Il.* 4, 350: ποῖόν σε ἔπος φύγεν ἕρκος ὀδόντων. Cf. also *A.* P. 390: nescit vox missa reverti.

Epp. 2, 2, 41 f., atque doceri | iratus Graïs quantum nocuisset Achilles. Cf. *Il.* 1, 1 ff., μῆνιν ἄειδε, . . . ἧ μυρὶ Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε' ἔθηκε.

A. P. 120 ff.: honoratum si forte reponis Achillem, | impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis acer | iura neget sibi nata. Note the translation of Homeric epithets.¹ With *honoratus* cf. ἀγαυός, κλυτός. For *iracundus*, *acer* see *Il.* 20, 467 f., οὐ γάρ τι γλυκύθυμος ἀνὴρ ἦν οὐδ' ἀγανόφρων, | ἀλλὰ μάλ' ἐμμεμαώς. *Impiger* recalls the words of Achilles himself in *Il.* 1, 165 f., ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πλείον πολυαῖκος πολέμοιο | χεῖρες ἐμαὶ διέπονσ'. For *inexorabilis* see *Il.* 11, 636. The words *iura neget sibi nata* suggest *Il.* 1, 295 f., ἄλλοισιν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐπιτέλλεο, μὴ γὰρ ἐμοί γε | σήμαιν'. οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ γ' ἔτι σοι πείσεσθαι οἶω.

Sat. 2, 3, 213: et purum est vitio tibi cum tumidum est cor? Orelli regards this verse as an Homeric echo. Cf. *Il.* 9, 646: ἀλλὰ μοι οἰδάνεται κραδίη χόλφ.

Sat. 2, 3, 193: Αἶαχ, heros ab Achille secundus. Cf. *Il.* 2, 768 f., ἀνδρῶν αὖ μέγ' ἄριστος ἔην Τελαμώνιος Αἴας | ὄφρ' Ἀχιλεὺς μῆνιεν · ὁ γὰρ πολὺν φέρτατος ἦεν.

Sat. 1, 3, 26 f., cur in amicorum vitiis tam cernis acutum | quam aut aquila aut serpens Epidaurius? Cf. *Il.* 17, 674 f., ὥς τ' αἰετός, ὃν ῥά τέ φασιν | ὀξύτατον δέρκεσθαι ὑπουρανίων πετεηνῶν.

Sat. 2, 3, 197: inclutum Ulixen. Fritzsche notes that *inclutus* is ἄπαξ εἰρ. for Horace. Here he believes it represents the frequent Homeric epithet δουρικλυτός.

Epp. 1, 2, 39: est animum. Cf. *Il.* 6, 207: ὃν θυμὸν κατέδωκ. See also Cicero's translation, *Tusc.* 3, 63: ipse suum cor edens.

¹ Interesting is the comparison of these epithets in Roman literature; see Diehl in the *Thesaurus*, s. v. Achilles. Those from Homer are collected in Roscher's *Lexicon*.

With respect to the *Odyssey* we will cite first from *Sat.* 2, 5, which draws largely from the *Νέκυια*.¹

Sat. 2, 5, 1 f., Hoc quoque, Tiresia, praeter narrata petenti | responde. Cf. *Odys.* 11, 140 : ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπὲ καὶ ἀτρεκέως κατὰλεξον. Verse 2 f. has in mind the loss of ships and companions, and the state of affairs at home ; see *Odys.* 11, 112, and compare vs. 6 : nudus inopsque. Dolosus of vs. 3 suggests the standing epithets πολυμήχανος, πολύμητις, ποικιλομήτης, etc.

Vs. 4 f., non satis est Ithacam revehi patriosque penatis | aspicere? Cf. *Odys.* 1, 58 f., ἰέμενος καὶ καπνὸν ἀποθρώσκοντα νοῆσαι | ἧς γαίης θανέειν ἰμείρεται.

Epp. 1, 2, 25 : turpis et excors, is cited by Lambinus as an echo of *Odys.* 10, 301 : κακὸν καὶ ἀνήνορα.

Sat. 2, 6, 40 : septimus octavo propior iam fugerit annus. Cf. *Odys.* 2, 89 : ἤδη γὰρ τρίτον ἐστὶν ἔτος, τάχα δ' εἰσι τέταρτον.

Owing to its subject we find in *Epp.* 1, 2 much mention of Homeric themes taken alike from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. In vss. 9 we have a reference to Antenor's effort to close the war by the return of Helen ; in vs. 10 the refusal of Paris with the commentary of Horace upon *Il.* 7, 362 : ἀντικρὺς δ' ἀπόφημι, γυναῖκα μὲν οὐκ ἀποδώσω. With vs. 20 : latumque per aequor, cf. *Il.* 2, 159 : ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης. *Odys.* 4, 313. With vs. 27 : fruges consumere nati, cf. *Il.* 6, 142 : εἰ δέ τίς ἐσσι βροτῶν, οὐ ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδουσιν.

In his reference to Circe, vs. 24 : sub domina meretrice fuisset turpis et excors, Horace departs from *Odys.* 10, 240 : αὐτὰρ νοῦς ἦν ἔμπεδος, ὥς τὸ πάρος περ. Other references are to Nestor,² vs. 11 f. ; to Ulysses,³ vs. 19 ff. ; to the Sirens,⁴ vs. 23 ; to Alcinous⁵ and the suitors of Penelope, vs. 28 ff.

In *Sat.* 1, 8, Horace again draws upon the *Νέκυια*. Vs. 26 ff. : scalpere terram | unguibus et pullam divellere mordicus agnam | coeperunt : cruor in fossam confusus, ut inde | manis elicerent animas responsa daturas. Cf. the *Odys.* 11, 35 ff. : τὰ δὲ μῆλα λαβὼν ἀπεδειροτόμησα | ἐς βόθρον, ῥέε δ' αἷμα κελαινεφές · αἱ δ'

¹ See Tolkiehn, l. c., p. 140 f.

² *Il.* 1, 247 ff. ; *Il.* 1, 113 ff.

³ *Odys.* 1, 2 ff.

⁴ *Odys.* 12, 39 ff., and 166 ff.

⁵ *Odys.* 8, 248 ff.

ἀγέροντο | ψυχὰι ὑπὲξ ἐρέβους νεκύων κατατεθνηώτων. Vs. 41 :
 umbrae resonarint triste et acutum. Cf. *Odyss.* 24. 5 :
 ταὶ δὲ τρίζουσαι ἔποντο.

Epp. 1, 6, 63 f., remigium vitiosum Ithacensis Ulixi, | cui potior patria fuit interdicta voluptas. Cf. *Odyss.* 12, 271 ff.

In many brief references Homer serves as a book of texts for didactic treatment, so that we may class generally and broadly under epic and mythical content. Some of these epic characters appear so frequently in subsequent literature as to make it impossible to say whether Horace went back even in thought to Homeric originals. See the allusions to Proteus, *Sat.* 2, 3, 71 ; Tantalus, *Sat.* 1, 1, 68 ; Sisyphus, *Sat.* 2, 3, 21 ; the Harpies, *Sat.* 2, 2, 40 ff. ; Telephus and Peleus, *A. P.* 96 ; Lynceus, *Epp.* 1, 1, 28 ; Antiphates, Polyphemus, Scylla and Charybdis, Diomedes and Meleager, *A. P.* 145 ff.

Epp. 1, 1, 1, prima dicte mihi, summa dicenda Camena. Cf. *Hymn to Apollo*, 21, 3 f., σὲ δ' αἰοῖδός . . . ἥδυεπὴς πρῶτόν τε καὶ ὕστατον αἶν ἀείδει. The thought, however, occurs elsewhere. Cf. Theoc. 17, 3 ; Verg. *Ecl.* 8, 11.

A probable reminiscence of Hesiod appears in *Sat.* 1, 9, 59 f., nil sine magno | vita labore dedit mortalibus. Cf. Hesiod, *Op.* 289 : τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἰδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάρουθεν ἔθηκαν.

Epp. 1, 6, 65 f., si, Mimnermus uti censet, sine amore iocisque | nil est iucundum, vivas in amore iocisque. We have here the sense of Mimnermus, frag. 1 : τίς δὲ βίος, τί δὲ τερπνὸν ἄτερ χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης.

With *A. P.* 63 : debemur morti nos nostraque, cf. Simonides, frag. 123, Bergk : θανάτῳ πάντες ὀφειλόμεθα.

Epp. 1, 18, 76 ; qualem commendes etiam atque etiam adspice. Cf. Theognis 963 : μῆποτ' ἐπαινέσης, πρὶν ἄν εἰδῆς ἄνδρα σαφηνέως.

Epp. 1, 12, 4 ff. : pauper enim non est cui rerum suppetit usus. | si ventri bene, si lateri est pedibusque tuis, nil | divitiae poterunt regales addere maius. Cf. a fragment variously cited from Theognis and Solon ;¹ see Bergk, Solon 24 : ἰσὸν τοι πλου-

¹ The evidence favors Solon ; see Plut. vit. Sol., c. 2.

τοῦσιν, ὅτῳ πολὺς ἄργυρός ἐστιν | καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ γῆς πυροφόρου
πεδία | ἵπποι θ' ἡμίονοί τε, καὶ ᾧ μόνῃ ταῦτα πάρεστιν | γαστρί
τε καὶ πλευρῇς καὶ ποσὶν ἄβρὰ παθεῖν.

Epp. 1, 1, 46 : per mare pauperiem fugiens, per saxa, per ignis.
Cf. Theognis 175 f., ἦν δὲ (πενίην) χρὴ φεύγοντα καὶ ἐς βαθυκῆτα
πόντον | ρίπτειν, καὶ πετρώων, κύρνε, κατ' ἡλιβάτων.

Sat. 1, 1, 106 : est modus in rebus. For the thought, see Pin-
dar, *Ol.* 13, 47 : ἔπεται δ' ἐν ἐκάστῳ μέτρον. *Sat.* 1, 3, 56 : atque
sincerum cupimus vas incrustare. *Epp.* 1, 2, 54 : sincerum est
nisi vas. Cf. Pind. *Ol.* 1, 26 : καθαροῦ λέβητος.

Without pausing to discuss the general discussions of tragedy in
the *Ars Poetica*, we will cite several reminiscences of particular
passages.¹

Epp. 1, 6, 36 ff. : scilicet uxorem cum dote fidemque et amicos |
et genus et formam regina Pecunia donat | ac bene nummatum
decorat Suadela Venusque. This passage is as Kiessling notes a
free putting of Soph. Aleadae, frag. 86, Nauck : τὰ χρήματ'
ἀνθρώποισιν εὐρίσκει φίλους, | αἰθις δὲ τιμάς, εἴτα τῆς ὑπερτά-
της | τυραννίδος θακοῦσιν αἰσχίστην ἔδραν. | πλοῦτος
. καὶ γὰρ δυσειδὲς σῶμα καὶ δυσώνυμον | γλώσση σοφὸν
τίθησιν εὐμορφὸν τ' ἰδεῖν.

Epp. 1, 6, 24 f., quidquid sub terra est, in apricum proferet
aetas, | defodiet condetque nitentia. Cf. Soph. Ajax, 646 f., ἅπανθ'
ὁ μακρὸς κ' αναρίθμητος χρόνος | φύει τ' ἄδηλα καὶ φανέντα
κρύπτεται.

Sat. 1, 1, 99 f., at hunc liberta securi | divisit medium, fortis-
sima Tyndaridarum. Cf. Soph. *Electra* 97 ff., μήτηρ δ' ἡμὴ χῶ
κοινολεχῆς | Ἀγισθος, ὅπως δρῦν ὕλοτόμοι, | σχίζουσι κάρᾳ φονίῳ
πελέκει.

Sat. 2, 5, 5 : o nulli quicquam mentite. Cf. Soph. *Oed. Tyr.*
299 : τ' ἀληθὲς ἐμπέφυκεν ἀνθρώπων μόνῳ. Cf. also *Antig.* 1092 ff.,
ἐπιστάμεσθα δ' μή πώ ποτ' αὐτὸν ψεύδος ἐς πόλιν
λακείν.

In *Epp.* 1, 18, 41 ff. Horace has evidently the *Antiope* of Euri-
pides in mind ; see Nauck 184 and especially 188.

¹ One of the best, the reminiscence of Eurip. Alkest. 784 ff. in *Sat.* 2, 6, 93 ff.,
has been cited under parody ; see p. 32.

Epp. 2, 2, 178 f., si metit Orcus | grandia cum parvis. Cf. Eurip. Hypsipyle, Nauck 757: ἀναγκαίως δ' ἔχει βίον θερίζειν ὥστε κάρπιμον στάχυν.

Epp. 1, 16, 73 ff., is a paraphrase of Eurip. Bacch. 492 ff.:

‘Pentheu,

rector Thebarum, quid me perferre patique
indignum coges?’ ‘adimam bona.’ ‘nempe pecus, rem,
lectos, argentum. tollas licet.’ ‘in manicis et
compedibus saevo te sub custode tenebo.’
‘ipse deus, simul atque volam, me solvet.’

ΔΙ. εἴφ' ὅτι παθεῖν δεῖ· τί με τὸ δεινὸν ἐργάσει;

ΠΕ. πρῶτον μὲν ἄβρὸν βόστρυχον τεμῶ σέθεν.

ΔΙ. ἱερὸς ὁ πλόκαμος· τῷ θεῷ δ' αὐτὸν τρέφω·

ΠΕ. ἔπειτα θύρσον τόνδε παράδος ἐκ χερσίν.

ΔΙ. αὐτός μ' ἀφαιροῦ· τόνδε Διονύσου φορῶ.

ΠΕ. εἰρκταῖσί τ' ἔνδον σῶμα σὸν φυλάξομεν.

ΔΙ. λύσει μ' ὁ δαίμων αὐτός, ὅταν ἐγὼ θέλω.

Epp. 1, 1, 34 f., sunt verba et voces, quibus hunc lenire dolorem | possis et magnam morbi deponere partem. Cf. Eurip. Hippol. 478 f., εἰσὶν δ' ἐπ' ὤδαϊ καὶ λόγοι θελκτῆριοι· | φανήσεταιί τι τῆσδε φάρμακον νόσου.

Epp. 2, 1, 32: venimus ad summum fortunae. Cf. Eurip. Antig., Nauck, frag. 169: ἐπ' ἄκραν ἤκομεν γραμμὴν κακῶν. For the thought cf. again *Epp.* 1, 16, 78; Eurip. Electra 945.

In some few other cases Horace employs tragic material, drawing his examples largely from Sophocles and Euripides. *Sat.* 2, 3, 132 ff. centers about the Orestes story. *A. P.* 185 ff. cites Medea, Procne, Atreus, and Cadmus. Cf. *A. P.* 123 f., sit Medea ferox invictaque, flebilis Ino, | perfidus Ixion, Io vaga, tristis Orestes.

Sat. 2, 3, 303 f., ‘quid? caput abscissum manibus cum portat Agaue | gnati infelicis, sibi tum furiosa videtur?’ Cf. Eurip. Bacch. 1139 ff.; 1277; 1280; 968.¹

¹ For further reminiscence of Euripides, see under parody, p. 32.

A few small phrases are suggestive of Theocritus, though not convincing.

Epp. 2, 2, 51 f., *paupertas inpulit, audax ut versus facerem.* Cf. Theoc. 21, 1 : ἡ πενία μόνα τὰς τέχνας ἐγείρει. The thought, however, is common enough; see Plaut. Stich. 178.

Sat. 1, 1, 4 : *gravis annis, recalls Theoc. 24, 100 : Τειρεσίας πολλοῖσι βαρύς περ ἐὼν ἐνιαυτοῖς.*

Sat. 1, 7, 26 : *invisum agricolis sidus.* Cf. Theoc. 25, 168 : κακὸν τέρας ἀγροιώταις. *Sat.* 2, 3, 135 : *malis furiis.* Cf. Theoc. 2, 136 : κακαῖς μανίαις.

Sat. 1, 4, 89 : *condita cum verax aperit praecordia Liber.* Cf. Theoc. 29, 1 : Οἶνος, ὦ φίλε παῖ, λέγεται καὶ ἀλάθεια. Cf. Alcaeus, frag. 53 (Bergk), οἶνος γὰρ ἀνθρώποισι διόπτρον. Theoc. 500 : ἀνδρὸς δ' οἶνος ἔδειξε νόον.

Many examples are cited by Fritzsche, who, however, being the editor of both authors is inclined to attach too much importance to parallels.

Sat. 1, 10, 33 : *post mediam noctem visus, cum somnia vera.* Cf. Moschus 1, 2 f., νυκτὸς ὅτε τρίτατον λάχος ἵσταται, ἐγγύθι δ' ἦώς, | εὖτε καὶ ἀτρεκέων ποιμαίνεται ἔθνος ὀνείρων.

In *Sat.* 1, 2, 105 ff., Horace employs Callimachus Epig. 31 :

leporem venator ut alta
in nive sectetur, positum sic tangere nolit,
cantat, et adponit 'meus est amor huic similis: nam
transvolat in medio posita et fugientia captat.'

ᾠγρευτής, Ἐπίκυδες, ἐν οὔρεσι πάντα λαγῶν
διφᾶ καὶ πάσης ἵχνια δορκαλίδος,
στίβῃ καὶ νιφετῷ κεχηρμένος · ἦν δέ τις εἶπῃ
'τῇ, τόδε βέβληται θηρίον', οὐκ ἔλαβεν.
χοῦμός ἔρως τοῖόσδε · τὰ μὲν φεύγοντα διώκειν
οἶδε, τὰ δ' ἐν μέσσω κείμενα παρπέταται.

Sat. 1, 4, 11 : *cum flueret lutulentus, erat quod tollere velles.* Cf. *Sat.* 1, 10, 50 f., at dixi fluere hunc lutulentum, saepe ferentem | plura quidem tollenda relinquendis. Thus Callimachus of his enemy Apollonius, in Apoll. 108 f., Ἀσσυρίου ποταμοῖο μέγας

ῥόος· ἀλλὰ τὰ πολλὰ | λύματα γῆς καὶ πολλὸν ἐφ' ὕδατι συμφετὸν ἔλκει.

Epp. 1, 7, 44: parvum parva decent. Orelli compares Callim. *Epig.*, frag. 179: αἰεὶ τοῖς μίκκοις μίκκα διδοῦσι θεοί.

Let us turn to the Latin poets. Here clear cases of reminiscence are not so numerous.

According to Porphyrio, and Servius on Verg. 7, 622, we have in *Sat.* 1, 4, 60 f., a citation from Ennius (Vahlen A. 266). Compare the other reminiscence cited under parody, p. 31.

Sat. 2, 1, 42 f., o pater et rex | Iuppiter, ut pereat positum robigine telum. Foremost in the mind of Horace was probably *Catul.* 66, 48: Iuppiter, ut Chalybon omne genus pereat. The Catullus passage may be a reminiscence of Callimachus *Epig.* frag. 35 c (Schneider): Χαλύβων ὡς ἀπόλοιτο γένος. Cf. Theog. 894: ὡς δὴ Κυψελιδέων Ζεὺς ὀλέσειε γένος.

Epp. 2, 1, 270: et piper et quidquid chartis amicitur ineptis. Cf. *Catul.* 95, 7 f., at Volusi annales Paduam morientur ad ipsam | et laxas scombris saepe dabunt tunicas.

In *Sat.* 1, 3, 99 ff., Horace essays in a strong passage to reproduce the philosophy of Lucretius 5, 795 ff., a few extracts may be compared.

Vs. 100: glandem atque cubilia propter. Cf. Lucret., vs. 939 f., glandiferas inter curabant corpora quercus | plerumque. Cf. esp. Juvenal 6, 10: et saepe horridior glandem ructante marito.

Vs. 99: cum prorepserunt primis animalia terris. Cf. Lucret., vs. 932: volgivago vitam tractabunt more ferarum. With cubilia, vs. 100, cf. Lucret., vs. 970, where is described the rude couch of leaves, the only resting place of primitive man.

Vss. 101 f., unguibus et pugnīs, dein fustibus, atque ita porro | pugnabant armis. Cf. Lucret., vs. 1283 f., arma antiqua manus ungues dentesque fuerunt | et lapides et item silvarum fragmina rami.

Vss. 103 f., donec verba, quibus voces sensusque notarent, | nomina invenere. Cf. Lucret., vss. 1087 ff.: ergo si varii sensus animalia cogunt, | muta tamen cum sint, varias emittere voces, | quanto mortalis magis aecumst tum potuisse | dissimiles alia atque

alia res voce notare? Cf. also vs. 1058: pro vario sensu varia res voce notaret?

Vs. 105: oppida coeperunt munire. Cf. Lucret. 1108: condere coeperunt urbis arcemque locare.

Sat. 1, 1, 117 ff.: inde fit, ut raro, qui se vixisse beatum | dicat et exacto contentus tempore vita | cedat uti conviva satur, reperire queamus. Cf. Lucret. 3, 938 f., cur non ut plenus vitae conviva recedis, | aequo animoque capis securam, stulte, quietem? Cf. also Lucret. 3, 959 f.

Sat. 1, 8, 46: displosa vesica, is a possible reminiscence of Lucret. 6, 130: cum plena animae vesicula parva | saepe ita detorvum sonitum displosa repente. See the notes of Wickham and Kiessling.

Sat. 1, 6, 4: magnis legionibus imperitarent. Cf. Lucret. 3, 1028: magnis qui gentibus imperitarunt; a characteristic Lucretian rhythm.

Sat. 1, 1, 13: cetera de genere hoc. Orelli notes: "Transitus est Lucretianus." Cf. Lucret. 4, 590; 4, 462; 5, 37; 5, 164.

Sat. 1, 9, 24: membra movere mollius. Cf. Lucret. 4, 789; 980: mollia membra moventis.

Sat. 2, 2, 67: dum munia *didit*; a Lucretian word. See Lucret. 2, 1136, 3, 245; 3, 707; 4, 240; 629; 955.

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¹ Nothing can be cited of direct bearing upon the subject except a few pages in the article of Cartault. In the subjoined treatises, however, several related themes are discussed.

LIFE.

Philip Howard Edwards was born in Hancock, Maryland, February 23, 1878. His preliminary education was received in the public schools of Martinsburg, W. Va., and of Baltimore City. After spending two years in the Baltimore City College, he matriculated at St. John's College, Annapolis, in 1894, where he was graduated with the degree of B. A. in 1898 and of M. A. in 1901.

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